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The Race Problem in The South

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Rev. William G. White, D. D.

Fallacies and The Duty of the Church

By
Rev. Neal L. Anderson, D. D.

A sermon preached at the Montreat Conference on The Colored Evangelistic Work of the Southern Presbyterian Church, Aug. 4th, 1907, by the Rev. Neal L. Anderson, D. D.

Published by the General Assembly's Executive Committee at the request of the Conference.

Psalm 68:31.—*"Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God."*

I have chosen these words for the text of my message because they represent in a very vivid way the pathetic attitude of the negro in the South today.

The greatest problem ever given any people to solve has been laid by God upon the South. We call this "The White Man's Burden," and yet, when we look at the problem in the light of all the circumstances, should we not rather regard it as an honor placed upon us by God himself? This is not the problem of the Anglo-Saxon of Great Britain or of the people to the North of us in America; neither is it the problem of the Teuton, nor the problem of the Celtic people, but our problem; and shall we not believe that He who has thought us capable of bearing the burden will, with the responsibility, also give us grace and strength to discharge its obligations?

No frank student of the issues involved can be blind to the prejudice that is awakened by the very conditions of the problem which he is called upon to discuss. With the traditions of personal life typically Southern, may I say that I speak not from the standpoint of the statesman, nor the philosopher, nor the theorist, but of a minister of God's grace—the messenger of the cross?

This problem, like all other great racial questions, will doubtless never be complete-

ly solved. The solution can be only approximate in any period. There is, perhaps, no better illustration of the statement of Oliver Wendell Holmes, that the United States furnishes the largest market for intellectual green fruit of any nation in the world, than in the crudity of much of the current thinking upon this subject, the exploitation of countless theories for the solution of the race problem, and the verdant expectation that such a problem as this, involving millions of people of both races, should be solved in one or two generations. Most of us perhaps can recall the times of crisis in which we have turned to the morning paper, or the latest edition of the current magazine, with the fond hope that at last some brilliant genius would have discovered the solution of the negro question. Perhaps no greater unconscious tribute could be paid the lower race than is found in this expectation of the popular mind, North and South, or in our impatience that the progress of a race only one generation removed from slavery should not have been such as to place this people in such an attitude to the civilization of the age that by their co-operation with the higher instincts of the older and stronger race, the most complex, difficult and delicate of all racial problems should be solved in a day.

"We are in such a furious hurry. We are placed in the position of expecting a race, but a few years removed from inevitable ignorance imposed upon it by the conditions of slavery, to make the most remarkable progress the world has ever heard of, and when we discover

that in the nature of things this is impossible, we shake our heads sadly and are ready to lose heart and hope."

You will understand, therefore, that it is not my purpose to present a theory for the solution of the problem. The most that I shall hope to accomplish in the message of the hour is the EXPOSURE OF CERTAIN FUNDAMENTAL FALLACIES concerning the problem, and the POINTING OUT OF CERTAIN ELEMENTARY AND FUNDAMENTAL DUTIES that devolve upon us.

Fallacies

A problem clearly stated is a problem half solved, and there are certain fallacies concerning this question that have been the cause of much confusion of thought, but which, however, have been ruthlessly exposed by the logic of facts, and to these I would call your attion.

DEPORTATION.

For nearly a century—practically, that is, since there has been any consciousness of the gravity of the peril growing out of the introduction into our life of the negro race—there have been many advocates for the solution of the negro problem by the deportation of the negro race to some other section, either of our own country or elsewhere. However practicable this solution may have been in an earlier period, no advocate of this theory in recent years has ever claimed to offer a practical plan for carrying out this scheme for the wholesale deportation of upwards of ten million

people, whose transplanting in another country is spoken of as glibly as though it were merely the question of shipping a few thousand bales of cotton to other ports!

For more than half a century, under circumstances more favorable to success than are ever likely to arise again, the subject of deportation of the negroes was discussed and in many cases, notably that of the celebrated New Jersey Colonization Society, large funds were raised for this purpose; but today, the negro is an integral part of the country's life, and has become so after a deadly conflict, unparalleled in modern history, and to suppose that he can be thrust out now is to misunderstand the lessons of those four years of carnage.

The negroes do not want to leave the United States, and particularly, in spite of the many stories of dreadful oppression which they endure at the South, they do not want to leave this section. The explanation of this clinging to the land, that has been held up to the scorn of the world, as the land of their oppression, has been clearly stated by Prof. DuBois, himself a negro, in which he shows that the industrial opportunities of his race in the South are incomparably superior to those offered at the North, not merely because of the greater fertility of the fields, or the negro's adaptability to the soil and climate, but of the greater racial and industrial prejudices against the negro in the North than in the South. The picture he draws of the struggle for bread of the educated and industrially efficient negro

in Philadelphia surpasses in genuine pathos the story of the woes of the slave in Uncle Tom's Cabin.

If it be true that the negroes do not want to go elsewhere it is equally true that they are not wanted anywhere else. A glance at a modern map of Africa, the Mecca of the hopes of all advocates of transatlantic colonization, will show that the dark Continent has passed out of the possession of the dark races, and so far from desiring more negroes in Africa, the European nations in posession, are using every method known to scientific warfare, and the more destructive armament of advancing civilization, the gin shop, to make room for the sons of their own people. Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines are already burdened with race problems, whose solution is taxing the genius of American statesmanship, and none of our neighbors to the immediate South of us would for a moment consider the admission of even a tithe of the negro population of one of the Gulf States.

There is nowhere to send this people; there is nobody that wants them; there are no means available for their transportation. The whole theory of deportation is without historical precedent or practical basis, and added to this is the fact that the South does not want to get rid of the negroes. In spite of all the evils his presence has brought upon this section, the labor markets of the world have never offered any class of labor that for cheapness, docility, adaptability to the climatic conditions, and ability to endure labor in the cotton fields and

rice and sugar plantations, equals the negro. Strikes have been so far unknown where negro labor is employed, and in spite of the most blood curdling stories of the danger of negro outbreaks, the events of the Civil War and subsequent history have shown that as a class no labor has been more tractable under the burden of economic conditions such as the negro has been called on to face.

An illustration of the value of negro labor, making all due allowances for its unskilled character, and the genetic and perhaps growing thriftiness of the race, is found in the fact that the cotton crop of the South has increased, since the war, from an average of 3,000,000 bales to an average of over 10,000,000, and this crop even when sold at a minimum price has lifted the mortgage from the homes of our people and brought wealth to the entire section. So far, the ability of the South to supply the markets of the world with cotton has been limited, not by the character of its labor, but by the demand for the cotton.

Every attempt to lift the burden of the negro from the South by the transportation, even from one state to another, of this people, that have for generations been the hewers of wood and drawers of water, the industrial units of the population, has been met by such strenuous opposition on the part of the Southern people that the agents who have attempted thus to interfere with the labor markets of the Southern states have at times barely escaped with their lives. A little practical experience in the far simpler scheme of trans-

porting negroes, we will say, from Georgia to Texas, would convince the most enthusiastic advocate of deportation of the folly of his theory.

AMALGAMATION.

It has been said by others that the slow and resistless processes of history will ultimately furnish the solution of the problem in the removal of the negro by amalgamation with the white race. In the face of the growing race prejudice North and South, it is difficult to believe that any thoughtful man could venture on this solution of the problem so far as it may be affected by intermarriage. Instances of the intermarriage of the races are so rare that their effect upon racial purity may be discounted.

The peril of the Anglo-Saxon race from this point of view is not to be found in the growth of the idea of social equality, but in the white man whose lusts makes a prey of the womanhood of a weaker race, and when this crime is condemned and stamped out by the awakened social conscience of our own people, the menace to the purity of the race from amalgamation will have been eliminated.

EXTERMINATION

Many men, conservative and prudent in their judgment concerning most other things, and however much they may deplore what they regard as the inevitable, express with the utmost frankness their opinion that the race problem in this country will be solved ulti-

mately, and perhaps speedily, by the extermination of the negro. "Unless a remedy be found," says a recent writer, "some race question will arise which will stir the passions and there will come a struggle, a day of judgment for folly piled upon folly. As even the lower classes of the South are of pure Saxon blood, the chronicles of their Saxon ancestors will be humane reading compared with the records of that day. * * * It will put an end to the negro problem because it will be the end of the negro." Were it not for the standing and ability of writers such as the one quoted above, it would be impossible to take this view seriously. Such a statement overlooks the fact that the few hundreds of thousands of negroes imported into America have multiplied to over ten millions. Before the extermination of such a multitude of people all humanity would stand aghast.

Such statements also overlook the plainest facts of the relations of the two races in the South at times when the blood ran hottest and incentives to strife were fiercest. As a matter of simple fact, race riots have been of the rarest occurrence. The outbreak in Atlanta was the most terrible in all the annals of Southern history, and when the story of its horrors was flashed across the wires the hearts of the people trembled in expectation of the outbreak of the long-expected race war. Yet, when the story of that period of anxiety and bloodshed was all told the official estimate placed the number of lives lost at about twenty-five, and

the wildest guesses of the most extravagant scarcely exceeded five times that number of negroes killed. I would not say one word to mitigate the horrors of this outbreak of violence and race hatred, or to minimize the real peril the South is facing in this period of accentuated race prejudice. In some sections, our people feel as though they were standing on the brink of a volcano that might at any moment wreck their homes and their lives; but at this period of tension, there is all the greater need that we look at the facts as calmly as possible, and whatever the future may have in store of strife and bloodshed between the races in different sections of the South, nothing can be more certain than that the issue of such conflicts will not be the solution of the race problem by the extermination of the negro.

Whether unblushingly proclaimed, or disguised with many words, the suggestion of any such solution is in itself a slander upon a brave, unselfish and noble people. No such crime has ever been perpetrated in history, even in darkest Russia or bloody Turkey, and it is hard to understand how one who knows the Southern people could believe for a moment that they would be guilty, under any provocation, of staining their hands with the blood of millions. The Atlanta riot, where hundreds of the best of Georgia's citizens protected helpless negro men and women, who fled to them for refuge, is itself a refutation of such a base calumny upon the people of the South.

"THE NEGRO INCAPABLE OF IMPROVEMENT."

It is said that the negroes are growing more thriftless and criminal every year, and that the money expended on their education not only does not improve the race, but positively tends to increase its thriftlessness and criminality, and that this is due to the fact that the race itself is essentially incapable of improvement.

I do not think I exaggerate when I say that this is the view of the average man, and like all fallacies, it contains a large measure of truth. Thriftlessness and criminality among the negroes have undoubtedly increased since the Civil War, but the causes for this are not far to seek, and the statement that the race is incapable of improvement will not stand in the sunshine of facts.*

One explanation of the alarming increase in the criminality of the negro is to be found in the removal of the healthy discipline of labor furnished by slavery. There was no more potent factor than this in conquering the savage

* "In 1865 only a very small proportion of the negroes of the South could read. Today not less than 30,000 are professors or teachers in schools and colleges. A vast number of well read preachers, lawyers, doctors, mail agents and clerks are at work." There are over 150 newspapers edited by negroes. The percentage of illiteracy has fallen from 70 per cent. in 1880, to 56 per cent. in 1890, and 44.5 per cent. in 1904!

"In Georgia, the official records show that the negroes added $1,526,000 to their taxable property in 1903, making the total amount upon which they pay taxes in that State alone $16,700,000."

iinstincts and making the negro slave tractable, docile, contented and in a measure happy.*

Today, however, with this discipline of work largely removed, with a new generation that has never felt the restraint of its firm hand, there has grown up a vagabond class of negroes that work only when compelled to do so and that are attracted permanently to no plantation, but wander from city to farm and from farm to city by turns, and usually land in the penitentiary.

Much as we may regret it, it is also true that much of the money spent to remedy this condition by education has been worse than wasted. The wrong sort of an education is as injurious to the negro boy as to the white lad, and much of negro education has been of the wrong sort.

Without regard to the capacity of the individual to be taught, his philogeny—or life history of the race—his industrial environment and opportunity for putting to practical use the knowledge acquired, in many cases the attempt to give this race, but lately emerged from barbarism, a type of education adapted to a race that has behind it centuries of culture and civilization has resulted not merely in

* "The negro has made more progress in 100 years as a southern slave, than in all the 5,000 years intervening from his creation until his landing on our shores."—Senator Vance, of North Carolina.

"The highest tribute ever paid to slavery was the conferring of the laurel wreath of citizenship upon its graduates by the Government of the United States."—Rev. R. F. Campbell, D. D.

disappointment, but in disaster to the cause of negro education. Going from such institutions with false ideals of life, a smattering of literature, mostly evidenced in the use of high-sounding phrases he does not understand, thinking it more honorable to earn his bread by his brains than by his brawn, yet with not brains enough to know how to go about the task of self-support, or, having the brains, lacking the opportunity of putting his newly acquired knowledge to a use that would bring in financial returns, the average educated negro has become a reproach to the cause of popular education of the race, and has brought it most into contempt with the employers of labor, who find their laborers taken from them and the community taxed to support a shiftless, good-for-nothing, impudent class of citizens, made all the more undesirable because of racial antipathy, political corruption and industrial inefficiency.

It is of the utmost importance, however, that we should realize that it is not, and never has been, a question as to *whether the negro shall be educated or not.*

For every dollar the South withholds from this cause, the North puts ten dollars into the work. The question for us to decide is solely whether he is to be educated by those who understand the situation, understand the negro and the needs of his race, or by other people who, with the very best intentions, attempt a task that is beyond them, and whose work, without the co-operation of Southern white men, in many instances retards

rather than advances the best interests of both races. We decided this question wrong nearly forty years ago when we turned over the education of this people, the moulding and shaping of a new generation, to ignorant negroes and well meaning white men, alike ignorant of the problem and unfitted for the task.

Our mistakes have been matched by their blunders and yet, in spite of these blunders and mistakes, the cause of negro education has made marvelous progress. It is a singular paradox that those who say most positively that the negro is incapable of improvement are the very ones who cry most loudly that the inferior race will outstrip the stronger and more vigorous race in the South. In the face of much that has gone under the name of negro education, it is remarkable that the South has not long ago refused to tax herself to support such a system. It is but another illustration of the greatheartedness and saving coming sense of her people. With a profound grasp upon the essential principles that underlie the problem, with an abiding faith in the working out of these principles, the South, out of its poverty, has given more than $135,000,000 to negro education and where the negro has been given the right sort of an education, where he has been taught under the direction of men who understand him and his needs, men who have more practical common sense than pedagogical theories, the results have vindicated the expenditure. No money the South has ever spent has brought in larger

returns than what it has expended for giving the negro a sound practical education; an education that teaches him the dignity of labor, fits him for honest toil and for the environment in which Providence has cast his lot.

I would cite as an illustration of the benefits of a practical education adapted to the negro's environment and needs, the work of the State Normal School at Montgomery, Alabama, where there are more than one thousand negroes under the direction of a Board of Education composed of Southern white men, with the Governor of the State at its head, and under the immediate charge of a President himself a white man and for nearly forty years a citizen of Alabama.,

Within a radius of a half mile of this institution are perhaps a thousand negro homes; all are from two to six room houses, neatly painted, clean and comfortable. No quarter of the city of Montgomery has less need of police protection and none is freer from crime. It is as safe to go through this densely settled negro quarter at night as through any other portion of the city. This settlement is perhaps the most prosperous and lawabiding negro quarter in any city of this size in the world, and that it is so is directly due to the influence of the negro school located in its center.

Those who state that education increases criminality among the negroes have never investigated the statistics of such institutions as this. In all the thirty-five years of its history

not one graduate of the school has ever been indicted for a crime of violence or been an inmate of the penitentiary. I hold in my hand the tabulated statistics of upwards of a thousand pupils who have enrolled in this school and whose history has been carefully followed, and of this large number not one has been indicted for a crime of violence against the person.*

"THE NEGRO A WHITE MAN IN A BLACK SKIN"

The last of the fallacies I desire to expose is that the negro is a white man in a black skin. To this fallacy is due the most damning political crime of the last century. That the negro is capable of improvement, that he has made great and even marvelous progress in the last generation, does not controvert the evidence that grows stronger every year, that the negro is always a negro; that he possesses the vices as well as the virtues of his race; and that the best way to help him is not to delude him with false visions, but to enable him to work out his destiny as a negro. One of the most thoughtful of the negro educators,

* "From both a moral and religious point of view, what measure of education the negro has received has paid, and there has been no step backward in any State. Not a single graduate of Hampton Institute, or of the Tuskegee Institute can be found today in any jail or State penitentiary. * * * The records of the South show that 90 per cent. of the colored people in prison are without knowledge of trades, and 61 per cent. are illiterate."—From Report of U. S. Commissioner of Education, Vol. 1, page 574. 1904.

a man whose life has been a blessing to his own race, has expressed this thought in vigorous language. "The negro," he says "can grow only by being true to his own nature in his sphere, as God intended. When he seeks to unrace himself—to run from his black skin, his flat nose, his thick lips and flat feet—then he will make himself despicable in the eyes of other races, and deserves the curse of God. We cannot make a white man a negro or a negro a white man. God has made the distinction and set the bounds of each. Each will grow strong and great only as he is true to his own nature.

The Church's Duty.

The negro is thus here and here to stay—his presence is a menace to much that belongs to the highest interest of the South—there is a wide and perhaps widening gulf separating the races that are thus forced to live side by side with each other—and the tension is sometimes strained to the point of breaking.

The politicians have tried to solve the problem, and without exception every thoughtful statesman today confesses that they have failed. I know of no man of national reputation that has a solution of the problem from the political standpoint.

The educational theory has been tried most faithfully—millions have been poured into the coffers of those in charge of the education of the race. As has been stated, much has been

done, but no sane man, with his eyes open to the facts of the situation in the South today, would claim that education has solved the problem "What is needed more than anything else to solve the negro problem is the agency of some more powerful and effective discipline, addressed to the morals rather than the intellect, and nothing is better able to accomplish this than the Christian religion properly presented to the negroes by experienced teachers and utterly divested of all emotional excitement."**

WHAT CAN THE CHURCH DO?

Almost without exception, thoughtful men everywhere are turning to the Church of God —the negroes themselves with almost pathetic realization of the perils of the situation turn to the church—Ethiopia stretches out her hands unto God.

What can the church do? That is the vital question for our people today. It is as one has recently said: "The test and touchstone of Christianity in the South."

NOBLESSE OBLIGE.

I answer, Christian men, as citizens, should deal justly with this people and should strive to see that justice is done them—that this weaker, ignorant and largely debased people with whose interests Providence has so closely linked our own, shall not be made the prey of the baser element among the white people.

** Editorial, Atlanta Constitution, June 2nd, 1899.

We hear a great deal about the immeasurable superiority of the Anglo-Saxon and of the vital importance of white supremacy; we boast of our morals and virile Christian civilization—the civilization of the Christian white man—yet many, loudest in their claims for the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race seem utterly to forget that just in this lies its obligation; that its very greatness is the loudest call to deal kindly justly and helpfully—to deal greatly, as a great Christian people—with this weaker race at our own doors. This, after all, is the one problem with which we should be most concerned. If we talked less about the race problem and thought more about our personal duty as Christians, there would be less of a problem for us and our children.

It is just here that the presence of this race, weaker morally and physically, is the deadliest menace to the highest interests of our own people. "There is no greater temptation known to man than the hourly, daily, yearly dealing with an ignorant, trusting people. There is no race known to history that could long withstand this deadly, insiduous attack. I plead with you for the preservation of the manhood of the South; its high ideals, its lofty character. The money improperly taken, because of his helplessness, from the negro, it is true, leaves him little poorer, but it infinitely degrades him who takes it. There are no two brands of honesty. You cannot be dishonest in dealing with the negro and remain honest in your dealings with other men."

To a recognition of the relation of the saloon to negro criminality and an awakening of the civic consciousness to the peril of the situation and the moral responsibility of the white race, is largely due the wave of temperance reform sweeping over the entire South. We owe it to ourselves, as well as to this people so largely dependant upon us, to see to it that the negroes are not made the prey of the saloon keeper and the gambler. The best temperance sermon ever preached in the South was during the Atlanta riot when every saloon was closed for weeks, and the best temperance sermon ever preached in Alabama was when the vigorous, level-headed Mayor of Birmingham, on the first indication of trouble during the recent strike in that city, ordered every saloon in the city to close its doors and to stay closed until the peril of the hour had passed.

No better statement of the assumption of responsibility of greatness by the white man has perhaps ever been made than in a recent article on State prohibition in Georgia.

"The Anglo-Saxon has an inheritance of liberty under the law, which his ancestors wrought out through toil and moil and blood. The African has no such inheritance. But both must be governed now by the same laws and by the Anglo-Saxon system of law and not the African idea of lawlessness. Therefore the Anglo-Saxon must surrender his liberty that the liberty bestowed on the African may not degenerate into license."*

*Dr. A. J. McKelway, Outlook, Aug. 31, 1907.

A GREAT MISSION FIELD.

I answer again, the Church has here the largest mission field in the world at her very doors; taking into consideration its accessibility and the facilities for manning it, perhaps the most important mission field ever opened to the Church of God. If Christ came to the South today He would pass by our fashionable churches and rich homes and here is where His work would begin, as it always begins, with the neediest.

Here it is that God tests our faith in the power of the Gospel to save. What a paradox it is that we should send the Gospel to the negro in Africa and do so little for him at home! Men are not saved because they have a white skin, but by the power of Almighty Grace and the man that believes that must also believe that the Gospel can save the negro.

In considering negro criminality, superstition, ignorance, and immorality, we often forget that he has behind him as a race less than one hundred years of civilization, while the Gospel has been at work on the Anglo-Saxon for more than a thousand years.

We often hear it said that the old time darkey was a better man than the younger generation. One explanation of this difference is to be found in the evangelistic work conducted among the slaves by intelligent, self-sacrificing consecrated ministers of the Gospel.

The old South believed that the Gospel could reach the negroes, and its faith was borne witness to by its works. In 1859 under the

auspices of the Second Presbyterian Church, Charleston, S. C., a church costing over $25,000, was built for the negroes, and its pastor, the Rev. J. L. Geradeau, D. D. LL. D., was a preacher of the first rank in the South.

At Baltimore, Alexandria and other cities there were large negro churches. In 1830 a minister wrote Rev. C. C. Jones that he had committed to him the instruction of negroes on five plantations, about three hundred in all, to whom he preached three times on Sunday. Another minister reported the visitation every other week of eighteen plantations on the Savannah River and at the close of the war it is said, as a result of this and similar work by white preachers, there were over 500,000 negro communicants, with a church attendance of nearly 2,000,000.**

PRESBYTERIANISM AND THE NEGRO.

It will not do for us to say, as so many of us do, that the negroes have their own churches and yet in the same breath condemn the religion of the negro as full of superstition and emotionalism. It will not do for us to say that Presbyterianism is not adapted to the negro. If it is not adapted to save the negro it is not the pure Gospel.

Our highest Church Court has repeatedly and in the most solemn terms affirmed its be-

***For detail statistics see Some Aspects of the Race Problem in the South, by Rev. R. F. Campbell, D. D.*

lief in the special mission of the Southern Presbyterian Church to the negroes.

The Assembly of 1898 put the matter vigorously and most clearly in the following terms: "The Presbyterian Church believes that it is peculiarly adapted to give the negro what he needs. His needs in our judgment are a soundly educated ministry, sober intruction, simple and quiet, rather than ritualistic and emotional modes of worship, a simple orderly system of church government and discipline, and a home life in which the children will be carefully trained in the Word of God and the Catechisms of the Church."

The largest Presbyterian Church in the world is a negro church, our own church at Luebo, Africa. *Presbyterianism is not adapted to the negro only because we do not adapt it.* A brother minister once said to the speaker that Presbyterianism was not suited to the negro. Investigation showed that the church of which he was pastor was giving just one cent per member a year for the evangelization of nearly ten million people. It has sometimes been asked, "Is not our colored evangelization work a failure?" I am tempted to answer, "It has never been tried."

The Southern Presbyterian Church began this work in 1875 with a gift of $350.00 from 107,334 members. In 1891 we were giving five cents a member; in 1907 we gave a little over three postage stamps a year per member for the evangelization of the largest mission field open to our church. With three postage stamps per member a year it is impossible to adapt

Presbyterianism to anything or anybody. We should frankly and honestly face the facts. It is not poverty nor lack of adaptability, but prejudice and lack of generosity to this great cause that has crippled the work of our Church in this vast field.

And yet during all these years our church has been asking and receiving the very best of some of her noblest sons. The sainted Stillman and Wilson, Reverend Drs. Phillips, Lilly and Snedecor have poured out with lavish generosity almost their life blood for this cause.

The plans upon which the work at Stillman Institute has been based—the training of a negro ministry by Southern white men sympathetic with their needs and filled with the spirit of the Master,—have upon them the singularly unanimous approval of all thoughtful men at this crisis in the history of the race problem of the South. On some such plan as this depend not merely the peace and prosperity of our business and our homes, but the salvation of tens of thousands of precious, immortal souls. History has vindicated our polity; the smile of the Master's own approval has rested upon it, in so far as we have had means and men to carry it into execution. The enthusiasm displayed at the last Assembly, which called for at least $50,000.00 for this cause, indicates a growing appreciation by the church of the wisdom of the policy and the importance of the work, but only a generous, self-sacrificing response of the church at large will make it possible to give effectiveness to this work so that in any adequate way

it may become a factor in the evangelization of the destitute millions around us.

PERSONAL TESTIMONY TO CHRIST.

The last answer I would give to the question as to what the church can do is that we can take the Gospel to the negroes best of all by living Christ before them. There is no power so great as that of a consecrated, earnest Christian life. There is no mission work more productive of results than individual work for individuals.

We express ourselves very freely concerning the negro's religion. Do we ever stop to ask ourselves what the average negro man or woman in our homes or places of business thinks of the white man's religion? "No man is a hero to his valet."—Few of us, I fear, are genuine Christians to our colored servants. Yet just here is where the power of Christ should most display itself. The religion of many negroes is little more than superstition and emotionalism. Then what an opportunity of bringing a pure, clean Gospel to these benighted people in our own homes! What an opportunity of filling our crown with stars of rejoicing! Of no other opportunity in our own lives, and it is so in the lives of no other people in all the world today, can it be so truly said that

"We need not cross the ocean
Or the heathen lands explore;
We can find the heathen nearer
We can reach them at our door."

NOTE.

Published by the Assembly's Committee on Colored Evangelization. Copies for free distribution may be had by addressing the Secretary, Rev. J. G. Snedecor, Tuscaloosa, Ala.

The General Assembly has ordered a collection for this great missionary work, to be taken in all the churches in December each year. Individual gifts are also solicited as the fund is small and the opportunity limitless. The Stillman Institute for training pious and sensible colored preachers is entirely dependent upon voluntary gifts. Five missionaries have been sent to Africa from this school, including Wm. H. Sheppard. Others are preparing to go. The majority of the graduates, however, preach the gospel here in the South. All denominations received.

Send all gifts to Dr. John Little, Treasurer, Tuscaloosa, Alabama.